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erster Linie, realistisches Verständnis des Kunstwerkes erstrebt werden, so dass jede Einzelheit auf ihre Stellung im Zusammenhange geprüft wird? Ergiebt sich dann die Neigung, symbolische und allegorische Deutungen auch noch zu versuchen, die sich freilich nie von dem Ergebnis der realistischen Erkenntnis entfernen dürften, nun, so mag man diesen Sprung ins Dunkel wagen. Ich glaube jedoch nicht, dass, ist erst das realistische Verständnis gewonnen, solche Neigung noch vorhanden sein wird—ich meinerseits empfinde nicht das geringste Bedürfnis dazu.²

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MALDON AND BRUNNANBURH.

Maldon and Brunnanburh: Two Old English Songs of Battle. Ed. by CHARLES LANGLEY CROW, Ph. D. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1897. 8vo, xxxvii, 47 pp.

Zur Entwicklung der Historischen Dichtung bei den Angelsachsen, von DANIEL ABEGG. (*Quellen u. Forschungen*, 73 Heft.) Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1894. 8vo, xii, 126 pp.

The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents, now in the Bodleian Library. Ed. by A. S. NAPIER and W. H. STEVENSON. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1895. 4to, xi, 167 pp.

ASIDE from the history of the MSS. and sources in the Introduction, the new edition of *Maldon and Brunnanburh* seems to me to have no advantages over that in Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*. And while the Text, Notes, and Vocabulary are quite reliable, the Introduction is not just what we might look for. The author has, apparently, not availed himself of the latest and best literature on his subject. At all events the best recent monographs on *Maldon* and *Brunnanburh* are neither referred to in the Introduction and the Notes, nor given in the bibliographical list

² NOTE. Professor Gerber writes:

"However correct Professor Valentin's method of considering a work of art may be,—and I do not differ from him as widely as he imagines,—his interpretation of Homunculus appears to me no more probable than it did before. I expect to reply as soon as I have had an opportunity to consult the publications to which he refers." Ed.

(pp. xxxii-xxxvii). The two most important are the monograph by Abegg (cf. *The Nation* for Jan. 1897), and *Judith: Studies in Metre, Language and Style, etc.*, by T. Gregory Foster (*Quellen u. Forschungen* 71, 1892). Foster has made a careful study of *Maldon* and *Brunnanburh*, both in language and metre, by way of comparison with *Judith* and other O.E. poems. Several interesting points connected with the history of *Maldon* are also discussed at length by Napier and Stevenson in the 'Notes' to their *Early Charters and Documents*.

I have noticed the following instances in Crow's edition in which correction is necessary or desirable. According to the arrangement of the Introduction and text, *Maldon* should have been considered under (a) p. xi, and *Brunnanburh* under (b) p. xii.

On p. xx the discussion of alliteration is not at all clear to me. The author seems to have understood the terms, 'double,' 'triple,' 'quadruple' alliteration quite differently from Sievers' definition of them. Sievers always speaks, if I mistake not, of double and triple alliteration in the *Halbzeile*, and not with reference to the entire line (cf. Paul's *Grundr.* ii, 1, p. 872 *et seq.*). According to Crow's idea there is no such thing as 'single' alliteration.

Attention might have been called (p. xx) to the alliteration of the palatals *c. g.* with the gutturals: cf. *Cāfne mid his cynne, þæt wæs Cēolan sunu* (M. 76). And I see no valid reason for not alliterating *Ceorl: Clȳpode* (M. 256); it is also probable that *c'* alliterates with *c* in *Cluſon Cēllod bord, Cēne ht weredon* (M. 383).

g': *g* occurs in *þær on gēan gramum gearowe stōdon* (M. 100), *Him se gýsel ongan geornlice fylstan* (M. 265), and *geongne æt gāde. Gylpan ne porfte* (Br. 44).

The *gē* (M. 32) is not, as Abegg thinks, in the alliteration, but this line is to be classed with others like M. 29, which have two alliterative syllables in the second half-line and only one in the first.

I am also inclined to believe that the poet of *Maldon* intended alliteration in the following instances (contrary to the general rule);

¹ Cf. also, Rieger: *Alt- und augs. Verskunst. Zs. f. deutsche Phil.*, vii; Heinzel: *Über den Stil der altermannischen Poesie. Quell. u. Forsch.* 20 Heft.

sc: st (l. 19), sc: s (l. 59), st: s (l. 271). On the latter line Abegg says (p. 9, note):

"Die Ansicht Riegers (S. 16), Kluges (*P. B. B.* ix, 446), Luicks (Paul's *Grdr.* ii, 995), dass dieser Vers keinen Stabreim hat, halte ich für unberechtigt."

In *M.* 224 I much prefer with Zernial to alliterate *ægðer: and*; for, although this alliteration is irregular, it is no more so than *Mæg: min*, and it preserves the rhythm of the line much better.

The following rimes may be noted in addition to those given by Crow (pp. xxi-xxii): Sectional, masc., *wæl fīol on eorðan* 126; b. End. *rinc: (woi)ing:-rinc* (138-140); *Godwig: wige* (192-3); *ofermōde: ðēode* (89-90). Assonance, *rēdde: tēhte* (*M.* 18.).²

Inasmuch as the suffixal rimes in *Maldon* are so numerous and varied, it would have been advisable, it seems to me, to draw attention to and possibly to give a full list of them. This has been done by Abegg (pp. 13-14).

On p. xxxiv, the reference under 'Prosody' should be, *Beiträge*, vol. ix, instead of vol. x.

It seems rather unfortunate that the editor attempted to indicate the alliterative letters in the text. The italics disfigure the page and are wholly unnecessary even for the beginner. My experience has been that students quickly and easily learn to distinguish the alliterative syllables with a little explanation from the teacher. It is advisable also from a pedagogical stand-point to dispense with all efforts at reducing the learning of alliteration to a mechanical process. But the greatest objection to Crow's attempt at italicizing the alliterative syllables is its incompleteness. The following unitalicized alliterations have been noted: *Eac* (?) *M.* 11, *Widon M.* 96, *wyrca M.* 102, *wærð M.* 116, *Wōd M.* 130, the entire line *M.* 232, *bæd M.* 257, *bærst M.* 284, the entire line *M.* 299, *heora Br.* 47 *wæ-pengewrixles* (the second *w*?) *Br.* 51.

By including the other historical poems like *The Death of Eadgar*, the *Death of Eadward the Confessor*, etc., in his edition, Crow would have greatly added to the value and interest of the book.

The object of Abegg's monograph is best stated by the author himself,

² These instances are taken from Abegg.

"Es ist der Zweck dieser Arbeit, zunächst die erhaltenen ae. Geschichtsdichtungen nach Form und Inhalt eingehend zu betrachten, dabei nach Kriterien zu forschen, an denen Prosaumschreibungen alter Gedichte zu erkennen sind, und dann diese Kriterien auf die ags. Ann. und Heinrich von Huntingdons *Historia Anglorum* anzuwenden."

The work is divided into two parts:

"I. Die in poetischer Form erhaltenen Geschichtsdichtungen; II. Prosaauflösungen historischer Gedichte in den ags. Annalen und der *Historia Anglorum* des Heinrich von Huntingdon."

Chap. i (pp. 3-26) considers the poem, *Byrhtnoth's Death in the Battle of Maldon*, with respect to Contents, Comparison of Sources and Other Accounts, Choice of Subject-Matter, Conception, Composition, Versification, Language and Style, etc. In Chap. ii. the author treats the historical poems of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under two different heads: (1) Gelehrte Annalistendichtungen, including (a) *Aethelstan's Victory at Brunanburh*, (b) *The Freeing of the Five Boroughs* by Eadmund, (c) *The Crowning of King Eadgar at Bath and Eadgar's Death*, (d) *The Death of Eadward the Confessor*; (2) Gedichte Volkstümlicher Art, embracing (a) *The Glorification of the Fortunate Reign of King Eadgar*, (b) *The Death of King Eadgar*, (c) *Lament over the Misfortunes of the Church under Eadward the Martyr*, (d) *The Capture of Canterbury and Imprisonment of Archbishop Alfeah*, (e) *The Capture and Death of Alfred Aethling*, (f) *The Marriage of Margaret with Malcolm of Scotland*, (g) *The Wedding Festival of Earl Ralph of Norfolk*.

Part ii, embracing chapters iii-iv (pp. 79-111), is devoted to the consideration of the *Anglo-Saxon Annals*, and the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon.

The author then gives (pp. 111-113) a summary of the results obtained by his researches, and this is followed by a long appendix (pp. 114-126) on the Capture and Death of Alfred Aethling.

In the chapters on *Maldon* and *Brunanburh*, Abegg considers in detail the various sources of the poems as well as the other known accounts of and references to the two battles. The poem *Maldon* gives the most complete account of the battle of Maldon,

but there are also brief descriptions in the several MSS. of the Chronicle, and references to the events of the battle in Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon. An interesting description of the battle of Maldon, and the life and death of its hero, is also found in the *Historia Eliensis* (cf. Abegg p. 6, Crow p. xii). Many of the data of this story are doubtless without foundation; but the characterization of Byrhtnoth agrees on the whole with that of the poem. Abegg is of the opinion that the poem was not composed for the especial glorification of the valour of Byrhtnoth, but to inspire the English to a renewed and vigorous struggle against the Danes (cf. p. 8). He also agrees with Freeman in holding that the chief events of the battle and the names of the leaders (as given in the poem) are entirely trustworthy.

In the composition the poet follows the older heroic poetry. Byrhtnoth is the central figure of the poem, just as Beowulf is of the epic. He is the circumspect general and courageous soldier. As *Eorl* he is loyal to his king and solicitous for the welfare of his followers; and he dies as a Christian hero, beseeching God for the salvation of his soul (cf. p. 8).

As to the *Battle of Brunanburh*, Abegg cites the following accounts and references independent of that in the poem: (1) A Latin poem preserved in the MS. Cotton. Nerv. A. ii, a Saxon MS. almost or quite contemporary with the event itself. It seems to be a fragment with a very corrupt text, and reports that Sictric and Constantine, the king of the Scots, were conquered by king Aethelstan. (2) The Chronicles of the Picts, which date from the last quarter of the ninth century. (3) The Ulster Chronicle speaks of the battle as horrible and dreadful. (4) More specific details regarding the Irish Contingent are found in the Chronicle or Annals of Clonmacnoise. (5) A short account of the battle is given in the Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters under the date 938. (6) The *Egils-saga* is not an actual source for the description of the battle, as it did not originate before about 1230.

Besides these more or less authentic accounts of the Battle of Brunnanburh, there are

several reports from Chroniclers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries commenting upon the importance of the battle. Those given by Abegg are: (1) The Chronicon of the Ealdorman Aethelweard (circ. 1000) which says that the people at that time continued to speak of the great war, but it makes only meagre references to the battle of Brunnanburh itself; the author calls the battlefield 'Brunadune'; (2) the *Gesta Regum Anglo-rum et Dacorum* (formerly attributed to Simeon of Durham), which give more definite references; (3) Simeon of Durham who in his *History of the Church of Durham* gives a report similar to the preceding; (4) Florence of Worcester who follows the poem quite closely in his description; (5) Henry of Huntingdon who also follows the poem and translates the entire poetic description into Latin; (6) Eadmer in his *Vita* of St. Odo; (7) the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* by William of Malmesbury; (8) Joannes Fordun who inserted the report of William of Malmesbury in part in his description of the battle of Brunnanburh (*Chronica gentis Scotorum*, lib. iv, cap. xxii).

Abegg concludes (p. 34) from his examination of these various sources and reports that the Old English poet does not follow a legend or saga in his description, but historical facts. He confines himself throughout to historical evidence, and rarely allows himself poetic freedom. Both *Brunnanburh* and *Maldon* present in this respect a striking contrast to the older heroic poetry, but the former also differs from the latter as well as from the older poetry in the matter of composition. In *Brunnanburh* no individual scenes are portrayed. The description of the battle presents only those general features which would apply to all bloody battles of the time. Individual heroes are not praised and elevated above the great crowd of participants. Aethelstan and Eadmund are broadly characterized as the brave leaders of the English people; Constantine and Anlaf are designated as hated foes.

Abegg makes a careful metrical and stylistic examination of the two poems, and concludes for Maldon that it is nearly related to the older heroic epos in the matter of composition. The versification, however, violates

many laws which hold for the golden age of Old English epic poetry. But, with one possible exception, the purity of the alliteration has been preserved. A larger proportion of the so-called *Gekreuzte Alliteration* is also found in this poem than in the older epos.

As to the subject of rime in *Maldon*; the author thinks it impossible to determine to what extent the large number of sectional and end, and especially suffix rimes, was intended by the poet and appreciated by the public. Sectional and end rimes are strewn throughout the poem regardless of any fixed principle.

In the matter of style, Abegg agrees with Vilmar (*Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand*, p. 3) in placing *Maldon* side by side with the *Beowulf* and the O.E. religious epic.

The versification of *Brunnanburh* belongs, according to Abegg, to the 'Blütezeit' of O.E. poetry. In contrast with *Maldon* the majority of the *epitheta*, tropes, and kennings of *Brunnanburh* are to be found in the older poetry. So, also, almost all the syntactical and rhetorical peculiarities of the O.E. epic occur in the later poem.

"Überblicken wir das ganze Verfahren des Dichters (of *Brunnanburh*), so ergibt sich als Resultat, dass er vom alten, lebendigen, mündlich vorgetragenen Heldensang nur Metrik und Sprachkunst bewahrt hat. Dazu kommt, dass manche Anzeichen direkt auf einen gelehrten Dichter schliessen lassen. Während im *Byrhtnoth* für die Dänen meist volkstümliche Bezeichnungen gebraucht sind, unterscheidet das Annalengedicht Schotten und Nordleute, wie auf englischer Seite Westsachsen und Mercier. Anlaf und Constantine werden mit Namen genannt; Chronikmässig wird die Zahl der im Kampfe gefallenen feindlichen Edlen angegeben. Zum Schluss beruft sich der Dichter ausdrücklich auf Bücher und weise Leute als Zeugen für die siegreiche Einwanderung der Angeln und Sachsen.

Wir dürfen daher mit gutem Grunde annehmen, dass ein Annalist das Gedicht verfasste und es von vorne herein für seine Annalen bestimmte (p. 39)."

Napier and Stevenson's *Early Charters* do not have to do directly with *Maldon* or *Brunnanburh*, but the authors have in their Notes given much new light on the history of certain of the heroes of *Maldon*. And while the discussions of the Notes alone are of immediate

interest for this paper, it will not be out of place to give a sort of outline of the contents of the book and to indicate its importance for the study of English philology.

The nineteen "Charters and Documents" which constitute the text of the book are in part now first given to the public, and all of them appear for the first time in a thoroughly reliable reprint. As to the value of this publication, the authors say, preface (p. viii):

"The importance of the documents printed in the following pages is evinced by the fact that eight of them are inedited and unknown (they appeared, however, in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, printed from the text of 'Early Charters and Documents' before the book was published). These inedited texts are of singular interest. They include an early copy of an apparently genuine charter of King Aethelheard of Wessex, a monarch who has been hitherto represented by one charter; an original charter of King Aethelstan, an important addition to the very brief list of original charters of this great king; an almost contemporary copy of a letter of St. Dunstan in Old English; an original charter of King Aethelred the Unready; the will of a bishop of Crediton; and the rules made for the canons of Crediton by the bishop of Exeter in the early years of the twelfth century. The collection is hardly less important in regard to documents of which printed texts exist, since it comprises the originals of the following: a charter of King Eadwig, printed by Kemble and Birch from an eighteenth century transcript; the famous forged charter of Edgar to Westminster, hitherto printed from corrupt copies in chartularies; the will of Leofwine Wulfstan's son, reprinted by Kemble and Thorpe from Madox's text, the original having disappeared; King Aethelred's charter of St. Alban's, printed without the O.E. boundaries, by Kemble from a thirteenth century copy."

The Notes with their scholarly historical and philological discussions are full of interest, and are as important as the text itself. Their copiousness may be indicated by saying that they embrace one hundred and seventeen pages of the total number, one hundred and sixty-seven, of the book. The editors have, as they say in the Preface, given themselves latitude in the Notes. We find there the history and translation of the individual charters and documents, the history and description of the several MSS., line for line discussions of the geographical and historical references, and a careful examination of numerous Old English

words from every point of view. Many new definitions of old words have been established, and not a few entirely new words have been added to the vocabulary of Old English.

Especial references to the historical personages connected with the battle of Maldon are found in Charters v (dated May 9, 957, and entitled *King Eadwig to Archbishop Oda*), vii (dated 980 to 988 and being a letter of Archbishop Dunstan to King Aedelred 'concerning certain estates belonging to the diocese of Cornwall'), viii (date 998: 'grant of land at Southam, etc., by King Aedelred to Ealdorman Leofwine'), and ix (date Apr. 15, 998: 'will of Leofwine, Wulfstan's son, in favour of Westminster Abbey'). That is to say, the several leaders at Maldon whose names are mentioned in these documents are discussed at length in the Notes. Among others we find *Adelstan dux* (pp. 82-84), *Byrhtnoð dux* (85-88), *Aelfric dux* (120-121, and 123).

Of *Byrhtnoð dux* the editors say:

"This is, no doubt, the hero of Maldon. He signs from 956 to 990. Freeman (*Norman Conquest* i, 635) thinks that he is the *minister* of 967, an error for 972-3. He is clearly the *dux* who signs from 956 . . . Nothing is known of his family, except that his father was named Byrthelm (*Song of Maldon*, line 92). It is possible that he was related to Byrhtsige, son of Aetheling Beornod (Chron. A) or Berhtnoð (Chron. B, C, D), who fell in 905 fighting with the Aelgeling Aedelweard against King Edward . . . Brihtnoð of Maldon married Aelflæd, the youngest daughter of Aelfgar, who mentions her (not by name) in his will (C.S. iii, 215), in which Brihtnoð is clearly regarded as her husband. . . . That Aedelflæd, the sister-in-law of Byrhtnoð, was Aedelflæd æt Domerhame is proved by her will, wherein she bequeaths land at Domerham. She is also the *una matrona* to whom King Edgar grants land at Chelsworth, co. Suffolk, in 962, as she bequeathed this estate to Aelflæd and Brihtnoð. The will of Aelflæd records that Rettendon [co. Essex] was her 'morning-gift,' so it is evident that Brihtnoð had possessions in Essex at the time of his marriage (*circa* 950). In Aelflæd's will, which was drawn up after Brihtnoð's death (991), a kinsman of his named Aedelmar is mentioned. . . . Out of all this (that is, discussion of Aedelmar's ancestry) nothing emerges clearly except the great probability that Brihtnoð's kinsman Aedelmar was the son of the chronicler Aedelweard, an undoubted scion of the royal house of Wessex. . . . Brihtnoð's sister's son, Wulfmæ, fell at Maldon (*Song of*

Maldon, line 113). Another relative of Brihtnoð's who distinguished himself in the battle, was the Mercian Aelfwine, son of Aelfric, and grandson of Ealdorman Ealhelm (lines 209 to 224). This is, no doubt, the Ealdorman Ealhelm who subscribes from 940 to 951. It may be noted that the Battle of Maldon, which was fought in 991 according to the chronicle, occurred on August 11, for the *Obitus Byrhtnoði Comitis* is given upon this day (iii. 2d Aug.) in an eleventh century calendar (Cott. Lib. D. xxviii)."

The lengthy note on *Aelfric dux* does not succeed in entirely clearing up the mystery of that Aelfric's identity, who is mentioned in *Maldon*, l. 209, but the conclusion arrived at seems to confirm the surmise of Crow (Notes, p. 22) that "the Aelfric was possibly the one mentioned by Freeman. *O.E. Hist.*, p. 230."

The editors think that the "chief interest" of the comparatively short "Will of Leofwine Wulfstan's son" (Chart. ix) has not yet been pointed out:

"It is the will of Leofwine, son of Wulfstan, an Essex land-owner, and it is dated nearly seven years later than the battle of Maldon. Now one of the heroes of this battle, the man who guarded the bridge, and who seemingly struck the first blow, was Wulfstan, the son of Ceola (cf. *Maldon* l. 74 *et seq.*). The last line (that is, 83, *pā hwile þe hi wæpna wealdan mōston*) seems to imply that the 'bitter bridge-warriors' fell fighting at their posts. In lines 152 sqq. Wulfmæ, the young, Wulfstan's ungrown son, distinguishes himself at Brihtnoð's side. It is highly probable that the testator was the son of the Wulfmæ, because Brihtnoð's force must have consisted principally of the local levies, and the testator's possessions were close to Maldon. It was probably this local connection of Wulfstan's that caused Brihtnoð to select him to guard the bridge."

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Inedita des Heinrich Kaufinger. Herausgegeben von H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG. Germanic Studies, edited by the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, iii. The University of Chicago Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. xv, 56.

THE third number of the Germanic Studies issued by the University of Chicago is one of exceptional interest, both to the critical student of German literature, and to the lover of folk-